IV.—Contributions to the History of Mithila.

(Continued from ante Vol. IX. p. 316.)

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III—Benares-and-Mithila.

Mithila before Nanya.

The immediate predecessors of Nānyadeva in the government of Mithilā were the K a l a c h u r i princes of C h e d i or Dāhala with their capital at Tripurī, modern Tevar* in the district of Jabalpur (Central Provinces). The greatest king of this dynasty was G ā ṅ g e y a d e v a, called V i k r a m â d i t y a on account of his success.[1] Even the record of a rival, the Chandela king, describes him as the 'u n i v e r s a l c o n q u e r o r'.[2]

The imperial prestige[3] of the throne of K ā n y a k u b j a (Kanauj) was shaken when R ā j y a p ā l a the reigning king made no serious attempt to fight Mahmud in December, 1018 A.C. His submission enraged his neighbours and allies who felt that the emperor had betrayed the national cause; a confederacy under the leadership of a Chandel prince attacked Kanauj and killed Rājyapala in punishment in the spring or summer of 1019.[3] It seems that Gāṅgeyadeva took part in it, as the K a l a c h u r i-C h a n d r a is described as sitting respectfully along with King B h o j a (of Dhārā) near the couch

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*Pronounced as Tiauri in the time of Gāṅgeya as recorded by the contemporary Alberuni (I·202).

[1] स विक्रमादित्य इति प्रसिद्धः । Jabalpur copperplate of Yaśah-Karṇa E. I., II. 3, and almost all other records of the dynasty have it.

[2] भवस्त जितविश्वः सोपिहस्पुण्डरीकं मुकलित-रण-गर्व-प्रणयि गाङ्गेयदेवः । Mahoba inscription, E. I, I. 222.

[3] V. Smith, E.H.I. (1908), 350, 354.

of Vidyādhara Chandella "that master of the art of war" after the destruction of the king of Kānyakubja.[1] Gāṅgeyadeva who had inherited a kingdom including Baghelkhand, evidently annexed Allahabad and Benares out of the Kānyakubja provinces, and conquered territories northwards of Benares up to Mithilā where within a few months of Rājyapāla's death he is found ruling. At Allahabad Gāṅgeyadeva fixed his residence where ultimately he died (1040)[2]. The conquest and the rule of Mithilā by Gāṅgeyadeva is known from the colophon of a manuscript of the Rāmāyaṇa at present in the state library of Nepal. This was written in Tirhut by a Nepalese Kāyastha Pandit in Ashāḍha Samvat 1076=June, 1019."[4]

[5]संवत् १०७६ आषाढ़ बदि ४ महाराजाधिराजपुण्यावलोक-सोम वंशोद्भव-गौडध्वज-श्रीमद्गाङ्गेयदेव-भुज्य-मान तीरभुक्तौ कल्याण-विजय-राज्ये नेपाल देशीय-श्री भाषु-मालिक-श्री आनन्दस्य पारकावस्थित (कायस्थ)[3] पण्डित.श्री श्री-करस्यात्मज श्री गोपतिना लेखीदंम् ।

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[1] E. I. I. 222 विजित-कान्यकुब्जभूपालमग्रम् । समरगुरुमुपास्य प्रौढभीस्तल्पभाजं सह-कलचुरिचन्द्रः शिष्यवद्भोजदेवः । The date of the contemporaries leaves no doubt that the Kalachuri-Chandra was Gāṅgeya. Dr. Hultzsch is wrong in suggesting Kokalla. (E.I. I. 219)

[2]See Karṇa's grants, e.g. in E.I. II. 297; Trilochanapāla successor of Rajyapāla had still territory in 1027 'near Prayāga'. See Jhusi plate *I.A.* XVIII. 33, 34. Evidently he is kept out of Allahabad itself owing to Gāṅgeyadeva.

The Piawan inscription of Gāṅgeyadeva incised in 1038 A.C. attests the Chedi rule near Allahabad (Cunningham, A. S. R., XXI, 113). In coming to Mithila from Tripuri the route lay through Rewah, Mirzapur (Belkhar and Ahraura) and Benares.

[3] Added in a different hand.

[4] Āshāḍha, V. 4, 1076 Vik.=24, June, 1019 according to D. B. Swamikannu Pillai.

[5] The manuscript was discovered by M.M. Haraprasad Shastri, Nepal Catalogue, page 34, commented on by Dr. Bendall, J.A.S.B., 1903, 18. [Lévi Nepal, II. 202, n., in his speculation on the colophon is misdirected.]

[Footnote 5 continued next page.]

"In Samvat 1076 āshāḍha badi 4, Gopati son of Paṇḍita Śrikara [Kāyastha] belonging to the country of Nepal living in Ānandapāṭaka (in the subdivision of) Bhānchu wrote this (manuscript) in the auspicious victorious reign in Tirabhukti ruled over by the illustrious Gāngeyadeva Mahārajadhirāja of virtuous presence, of the Lunal dynasty, who has planted his banner in Gauḍa."

Tirabhukti was conquered from the king of Gauḍa (Bengal)[1] hence the reference "who has planted his banner in Gauḍa."

His son Karṇadeva extended his power further east; he made Vaṅga and Kaliṅga tributary to himself. At Benares he built a most magnificent temple which was called Karna's Meru, it was hexagonal, twelve stories, with variegated windows and four entrances.[2] Benares became really a second capital of the Chedi monarchy. King Udayâditya of Mālava in his inscription, as noted above, says that Karṇa with his allies, the Kārṇāṭas, had swept over the earth like a mighty sea. His conquests were many and extensive. He aspired to establish an all-India Empire with his seat at Benares. Towards the latter portion of his life he suffered defeats. But his sway over Benares[3] and Mithilā remained unshaken. He made friends with the Bengal

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It seems that Gāṅgeya in keeping a permanent hold on the territory to the north of Benares was helped by the existence in the Gorakhpur District (the Surayâ-pâra) of a cadet branch of the Kalachuri family. Vyāsa was crowned in 1031, i.e. in the time of Gāngeya. Vyāsa's son Soḍhadeva was ruling in 1077. The earlier princes of the family had taken part in the wars in the time of King Bhoja. E.I. VII. 85.

[1] P. B., 74.

[2] E.I. II. 6 n. Mr. R. D. Banerji tells me that the ruins of this temple are still to be found under the modern temple of Adi-Kesāva near the confluence of the Varaṇā and the Ganges to the north of Kāśi Railway station. It still bears the same name. The sculptures are not yet photographed. The toranas at Rewah published by Mr. R. D. Banerji (A. S. R. W. I, 1920), afford a specimen of Karnaś or his family's love of stone sculpture which reached its zenith in decorative art in that period.

[3] The Jabalpur copperplate of Yaśaḥ Karṇa was drafted at Benares (E. III, 4, verse 13) in 1122 A.C. (R. B. Hira Lal, E.I. XII. 207, tries to question this date arrived at by Kielhorn but his argument assumes a mistake n the original dating and is otherwise not convincing.)

king and entered into a marriage alliance with Vigraha Pāla.[1] We do not know the exact date of his death, it seems to have occurred about 1080 and certainly before the accession of Chandradeva (circa 1090) as expressly mentioned in the Basahi plate.[2]

Struggle for Benares.

His son Yaśaḥ Karṇa came in conflict with the new Gāhaḍavāla power which sought to reassert the imperial position of Kānyakubja and therefore to recover Benares. About 1090 Benares was lost by Yaśaḥ Karṇa and it became the sister capital of the resuscitated Kanauj. Benares the base on which the dominion of Chedi over Mithilā rested now removed, the Chedi power must contract back towards Jabalpur. Before finally losing them, Yaśaḥ Karṇa, true to the tradition of perseverance of his house, made considerable attempts to recover Benares and Mithilā. This story is silently told by the inscriptions of two generations. In the year 1177 Saṃvat=1120A.C. at Benares in the presence of King Govindachandra and his ministers the village of Karaṇḍa was transferred to the nobleman Vasishṭha, a brahman, by Rudraśiva the Guru of King Yaśaḥ Karṇa who had given the estate to his *guru* after worshipping Viśvanātha. Two years later in 1122 we have again a copper-plate grant of Yaśaḥ Karṇa recorded at Benares ('here in Benares' E.I. 11 pages 2, 4.) Five years later we see Govinda Chandra fully established as far east from Benares as Maner in the Patna district.[3] Thus between c. 1097 and 1126 A.C. the result of Gāhaḍavāla-Kalachuri duel fluctuates which may be located in chronology with the help of the following data:

Before 19th January 1097, the date of the grant at Benares by Chandradeva (I.A. XVIII. 11), Benares conquered from the successor of Karṇa (I.A. XIV. 101), i.e. Yasaḥ Karṇa by Chandra.

[1] P. B., page 98.

[2] I. A., XIV., 101-104.

[3] J.B.O.R.S., II. 441.

C. 1097 ... Death of Chandra, as the gift of that year had to be drawn and sealed by his successor Madana(pala)deva (I.A. XVIII. 11)

[18 July, 1097 ... Nânyadeva sets himself as king of Mithila.]

1104 }
1105 } Prince Govinda Chandra is making grants on the Jamuna and Ganges in the reign of his father, in 1105 near Benares at Vishnupura (an old name for Chunar) (IA. XIV. 103; EI. II. 359)

1107 ... King Madana(pala)deva at Benares (J.R.A.S, 1896, 787)

1115 ... King Govinda Chandra at Benares (EI.IV.102) [Madana reigned in 1109, IA. XVIII. p. 15]

1116 ... Govinda Chandra at Benares (E.I. IV. 104)

1119 ... Ditto (E.I. IV. 106)

1120 ... Ditto (E.I. IV. 109; J. A. S. B. 31, 123. Transfer of Karaṇḍa.

21 July, 1122 ... Govinda Chandra at Benares E.I. IV. 110.

25 Dec., 1122... Yaśaḥ Karṇa; Jabalpur grant drawn at Benares (E.I. II. 1)

14 Augt., 1124... Govinda Chandra and his mother make a grant at Benares (Kielhorn, List, No. 96, I.A. XIX. 357)

1126 ... Govinda Chandra at Maner (J.B.O.R.S. II).

1127 ... Govinda Chandra at Benares (EI. IV. 14)

1129 ... Ditto (J.A.S.B, 561, 119.)

(For the presence of Govinda Chandra at Benares in 1129, 1130, 1131, 1134, 1139, 1141, 1144, 1152, 1154, see Kielhorn's *list*, E.I.V. pages 16-20)[1]

Date of Kala-churi recovery of Benares.

As to the significance of Karaṇḍa I think we must agree with Rai Hira Lal Bahadur

[1] This reconstruction becomes possible largely on account of the Kamauli (Benares) plates (E.I. IV) which seem to have come out of the record rooms of the Gāhaḍavāla Kings as the plates cover several generations of donors and different donees and grants of fendatories of the Gāhaḍavālas. They were all found on

(E.I. XII. 208) as against the late Dr. Kielhorn that the date of the gift of Karaṇḍa is not known, that the gift might have been very well made before Yasaḥ Karṇa lost Benares to Chandra. On that evidence we cannot therefore come to a sure conclusion that Yaśaḥ Karna must have been in Benares a little before 1120. But it is certain that he regained Benares for a time at least once. This is evidenced by the Jabalpur plate and the record that he invaded Champāraṇya (see below). Nobody invades his own territory. The invasion of Champāraṇya must come therefore after it had been lost by the Kalachuri, i.e. to Nanyadeva in 1097.[1]

To reach Champāraṇya the Chedi king must have come into possession of Benares. Benares was the Chedi base to step over to Mithila.

Date of Gahadavala recovery of Benares.

The second recovery of Benares must come after the 21st July, 1122, the date of the Kamauli grant issued from Benares by Govinda Chandra which is edited at page 110 of the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV. and before the 25th August, 1122, the date calculated by Dr. Kielhorn for the Jabalpur plate of Yasaḥ Karṇa which was drawn and executed at Benares. On the 14th August, 1124 we find Govinda Chandra again at Benares, for on that date he and his mother make a pious gift (I.A. XIX. 357); and his power goes on increasing eastwards as observed above. Benares was thus recovered by Govinda Chandra finally before the 14th August, 1124.

the river Asi in the Varaṇasi area. They appear to have been duplicate copies of the original grants preserved in the royal archives. An alternative explanation of this deposit may occur to some, viz., that an ancient epigraphist collector might have been responsible for it, but it is only a possible, not a probable theory. Against the former theory the presence of one Assam copperplate in the deposit must be noticed, which, however, may be due to some unknown official reason. The fact that grants of several generations of the dynasty, almost year by year, coupled with their find in the capital is very weighty in favour of the theory advanced above that they are duplicate copies of the royal office.

[1] A Correction.—At p. 308, Vol. IX, ante, in several places 1093 A.C. is put down by mistake instead of 1097 A.C; at p. 309, 1143 A.C. should be corrected into 147 A.C.

Invasion of Lakshmana Sena.

This weakening of the Gāhaḍavāla hold on Benares in 1122 was probably also due to the invasion and success of King Lakshmaṇa Sena who in two inscriptions of his sons is recorded to have posted pillars of victory at Benares and Allahābad (Triveṇī)[1]. We can, I think, fix the date of this event. It must have preceded 1124. By 1126 (Maner copper-plate) Govinda Chandra's power penetrated as far as Patna; it kept on increasing eastwards as in 1146 we find him making disposition of property from Mudgagiri (Monghyr).[2] The date of Lakshmaṇa Sena's invasion thus falls in the period 1122-1126, which is soon after the beginning of the era after Lakshmaṇa Sena's name and indirectly confirms the view of Kielhorn and other scholars who date the accession of that Sena king in 1119. Lakshmaṇa Sena had won military renown before coming to the throne, by his success in Orissa. He seems to have signalised his accession by an invasion of Benares and Allahabad which evidently he freed for Yaśaḥ Karṇa, for his sons do not credit his father with a permanent conquest of the two towns, and we find Yaśaḥ Karna again there in that period. These towns had been very dear to the last two ancestors of Yaśah Karṇa. The Gāhaḍavālas had been an ally of the Pālas against the rising Senas, Govinda Chandra's grandfather about fifteen or twenty years back had fought on the side of the Pāla king (Madana-pāla) against Vijaya Sena, grandfather of Lakshmaṇa Sena.[3] Probably Yaśaḥ Karna appealed to the Sena king whose kingdom extended right up to the frontiers of the Benares Province.

Invasion of Mithila (Champaran) by Yasah Karna.

The invasion of Mithilā by Yaśaḥ Karṇa alluded to above deserves a fuller notice. The widow of Gaya Karṇa son of Yaśaḥ Karṇa—Alhaṇadevi—in her Bherāghāt (Jabalpur) inscription says that Yaśah Karṇa devastated Champaran (Champarāṇya)[4] that is, the portion of Tirhut which would, be reached first in going up from

[1] J.A.S.B., 1896, II, P.B. 106.
[2] E.I., VII. 98.
[3] P. B. 103.
[4] E. I. II. p. 11. inscription of 1155 A.C.—चम्पारण्य विद्रावणोद्गतयशः

Benares. Tirhut had been so completely lost to the house of Kalachuri that it was treated as an enemy country by the daughter-in-law of Yaśaḥ Karṇa nay, by the latter himself. The enemy was King Nānyadeva. On recovery of Benares in 1122 the Chedi king would not have neglected to recover his old province of Mithilā. We may take it that in the period when Benares was reoccupied Mithilā became the objective. Queen Alhaṇadevi does not intend a permanent conquest of Champaran to be implied : the "devastation of Champāraṇya" fell short of conquest either on account of Benares the base and the route to Jabalpur having come into the hands of Govinda Chandra or on account of check offered by Nānyadeva, or on account of both. The Champaran feat was in reality a failure, and no other inscription of the dynasty mentions it. It seems that the return of Yaśaḥ Karṇa represents his withdrawal, or rather his defeat by Govinda Chandra. Yaśaḥ Karṇa's final dislodgement from Benares, and probably also his death, may be dated about 1124-1125. By then he would have completed a reign of some fifty years.[1] With Yaśaḥ Karṇa the Chedi claim over Mithilā died for ever.

IV.—Balancing of Powers in Nanya's Time.

Foreign policy of Nanya.

Nānyadeva was thus free from external danger only about 1125, i.e. over a quarter of a century after his accession. Fortunately for him he had a long rule, and fortunately for him the Gāhaḍavāla power soon recovered under Govinda Chandra. That power was friendly to Nānyadeva and Nānyadeva must have sought that friendliness. Although the settled principle of the Hindu foreign office was to regard the next-door neighbour as an enemy and the state after that as a friend, yet here the case was reverse. This was the outcome of the balancing of powers at the time and the intelligence and right valuation of the situation by Nānyadeva. Uttara Kosala was a part of the Kānyakubja empire;

[1] For his successor we have a known date : 1151 A.C. [EI. II. p. 2]

it was there where the Kārṇāṭa of Mithilā and the Gāhaḍavāla of Kanauj became next-door neighbours. The Gāhaḍavāla would not have the Chedi power both above and below Benares. To see the Chedi province to the north of Benares become independent and to see it continuing that independence was to the advantage of the Gāhaḍavāla. To have Benares as a Gāhaḍavāla town was for Nānyadeva to have a strong bulwark against Chedi. The situation suited both and made both friendly. Again Chandra the founder of the Gāhaḍāvala dynasty had similarly a friendly policy towards the Pāla king who was a neighbour on his eastern frontier. This policy evidently was dictated by the danger of the Chedi sovereign finding an access to Mithilā and Benares through Chhatisgarh and Jharkhand. The alliance between the Gāhaḍāvāla and Pāla kings brought the Gāhaḍavāla king in inimical connexion with the rising Sena. The Sena, although a Kārṇāṭa, went against the other Kārṇāṭa—Nānya of Mithilā, a friend of the Gāhaḍavāla. The Sena never became friendly to the Gāhaḍavāla up to their end which proved indirectly helpful to the Musalman interloper—rather, incomer, as in politics there is really no interloper. Thus when we have only the Sena and the Gāhaḍavāla, when the duel changes from being one between the Kalachuri and the Gāhaḍavāla to one between the Gāhaḍavāla and the Sena, the Kārṇāṭa of Mithilā is the buffer with the right leaning, not towards his brother Kārṇāṭa the Sena but towards the Gāhaḍavāla. For it is the Gāhaḍavāla who proves the stronger of the two. Had Nānyadeva taken the other course very likely he would have been wiped out and Mithilā incorporated in Uttara Kosala of the Gāhaḍavāla. As late as the time of Jaya Chandra, grandson of Govinda Chandra, we find a son of Nānyadeva in the army of Jaya Chandra. As observed above, the law book Kalpataru[1] prepared at the com-

[1] I have compared the Vyavahāra Kalpataru (in manuscript) with the Vivāda Ratnākara the present authority of Mithilā. The latter is a wholesale plagiarism, so much so, that the resultant difference between the two works is so little that it is needless to publish the V. K.

mand of Govinda Chandra by his foreign ministet becomes the authority in Mithilā.

Nānyadeva, who himself was a state-maker, saw great personalities—both great by rise and great by fall—like Chandra Gāhaḍavāla, Madanapāla of Bengal, Yaśaḥ Karṇa, Vijaya Sena, Govinda Chandra and Lakshmaṇa Sena. He had to deal with them. It was a life amidst political storms and earthquakes. It is to his great credit that he came out successful. Without a long reign he could not have given life to the Mithilā state.[1] At the time of his death, *Circa* 1133 A.C., Govinda Chandra was still pushing on eastwards.

As stated above, about 1171 a son of Nanya was with the Kānyakubja king. Probably it was in the time of Nanya's grandson Narasimhadeva (1174-1205) whom the Mithilā tradition describes as a weak monarch, as the loser of supremacy over Nepal, that Mithilā leaned towards the Sena power and it would be then that the Lakshmaṇa Sena era would come in to vogue in Mithilā.

[1] A good physical proof of this is the Nepal manuscript of the (Kritya) Kalpataru, (Śuddhi-khaṇḍa), dated Samvat 1233 = 1176 A.C. written in Nāgarī. (M.M. Haraprasad Shastri, Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts, Nepal, II. 105.) This is a copy made only a generation after Govinda Chandra and Nānyadeva brought into Mithilā and Nepal from Benares or neighbourhood as its script shows. For the great influence of the work in Mithilā see M. Chakravarti, J.A.S.B., 1915, 357, and the several works of Chaṇḍeśvara where his indebtedness is avowed.

Kārttika. Consequently La. year 327 would begin on Su. 1 [illegible] 1119 + 327 = A.D. 1446 and Bhādrapada Su. 10 of that year would have to be looked for in the European year A.D. 1446—47 and it would be *Sunday* the *20th August* 1447 when Sudi 10 began at ·42 of day ending next day at ·32 or 19 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise."